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There's Big Doings In Big Water!!?

by R.W. Bradford

R.W. Bradford is a veteran libertarian based in Port Townsend, WA, where he publishes a hard money newsletter, *Analysis & Outlook*.

"It was libertarian history in the making," began the article headlined "Big Water, Utah: New Frontier for Freedom," on the front page of the July issue of *Libertarian Party News*. A front page article in *American Libertarian* (July 86) heralded the developments in Big Water as "the most surprising LP victory to date."

The articles went on to explain that the polygamist Mayor of a tiny city in southern Utah, along with 4 of the 5 members of its City Council, had joined the Libertarian Party, giving them "complete control" of the city of 350.

Founded in 1972 and dedicated to radically reducing the power of government, the Libertarian Party secured itself a minor footnote in American political history its very first year of existence, when a renegade Republican presidential elector from Virginia cast his electoral vote for the Libertarian ticket.

As "America's largest third party," the Libertarian Party has had precious few successes. After more than a decade of tilting at electoral windmills, the LP has little to show for itself: three State Representatives in Alaska, a County Supervisor or two and a lot of candidates buried by major party avalanches.

But now the Mayor of a city and 4 of 5 members of the City Council had joined the Libertarian Party. A city of 350 was in the "complete control" of elected officials who are members of the LP. After years of providing comic relief to conventional politicians and political observers, the LP had a beachhead and perhaps the means of demonstrating the concrete value of liberty.

"Libertarian success," the *LP News* article concluded, "may also come from out of the ashes of urban America where the repeated

failures of government may leave no other alternative."

Alex Joseph, Big Water's Mayor, is not your normal politician. For one thing, Big Water is not his first political activity: in the mid-1970s he led a band of people attempting to homestead nearby Cottonwood Canyon. For another, Mr. Joseph is trying to get title to the 3200 acres of federally claimed land that makes up more than 80% of the town.

But Alex Joseph is the "marrying kind"; in fact, that's his most striking characteristic to most outsiders. Mr. Joseph is more married than most, ten times to be exact. Polygamy is not unknown in southern

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AL Interview: Marrou

America's highest ranking elected Libertarian Party member, Andre Marrou, is up for re-election to his State House seat in Homer, AK. *The American Libertarian* interviewed Marrou in early October.

AL: How are things going in your campaign?

Marrou: Things are going very well. When I go door-to-door, people are very receptive. I recently visited a group of Mormons at their home, where my Democratic opponent who is himself a Mormon, refused to show up.

I just bought my TV time and I have raised more money by the first week in October this year than I did during my whole campaign in 1984.

In 1984 my goal was to raise \$20,000 and I raised \$21,500. This year my goal was \$30,000 and I have already raised over \$31,000.

AL: Any poll or survey results in yet?

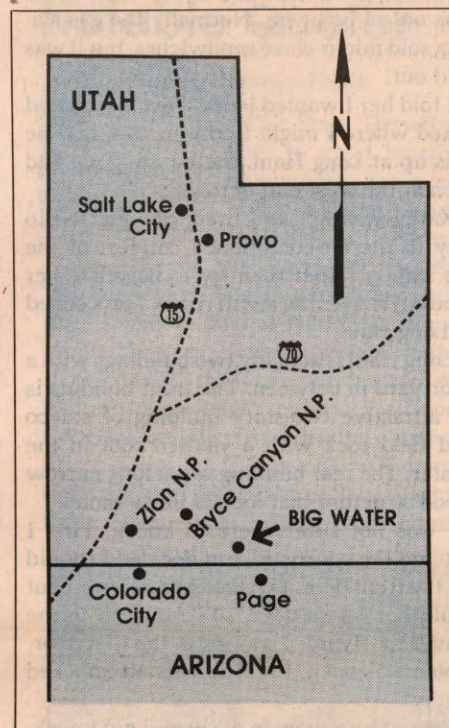
Marrou: I haven't done any polls myself. I understand a poll conducted by the Republicans after the primary showed I would win. The state GOP is not apparently helping out their candidate in my race.

AL: What are the main issues in the race?

Marrou: My key issue is the same as it was in 1984. Namely that Alaska has the most expensive and onerous state government of all the 50 states, 280% more expensive than the average, per capita. Of course, this is also in the wake of a huge decline in state oil revenues.

AL: So you are able to dictate the agenda for the campaign?

Marrou: Well, at a recent Chamber of Commerce event with all three candidates, the



other two just generalized. I made a point of criticizing my opponents' campaign signs, which under state law are illegal when posted on public property. I challenged them to obey the law. I said "if it's a silly law, let's change it, otherwise, let's obey it."

I maintain that we should have fewer laws and greater respect for the laws that we do have.

AL: What about your TV commercials?

Marrou: I'm going to have three commercials, one from 1984 and two new ones. The one from 1984 shows me as a pilot, chopping wood and in my car. It is the "one of the boys" commercial.

Of the two new ones, one talks about reducing the size of government and has shots of me in the State House. The other shows an accident scene and deals with my successful efforts in passing a "good Samaritan" law covering EMTs (emergency

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Ron Paul on LP Ticket?

Lake Jackson, TX - A number of reports from around the country which have been confirmed by usually reliable sources reveal that an informal "Draft Ron Paul" movement is underway in Libertarian Party circles in an attempt to demonstrate widespread LP support for the former four-term GOP Congressman from Texas.

According to these reports, Paul has been approached by a number of libertarians and close political associates about running on the LP ticket in 1988 and that he is keeping an open mind on the subject. However, *AL* was unable to contact him as of press time. No official word about a possible LP candidacy had been issued by Ron Paul as of late October. However, informed sources indicate that some definite indication of interest, one way or another, is expected in early November.

When asked about the possibility of running on the LP ticket in mid-June by *AL*, at that time Paul said he "wasn't interested" in that prospect but did not categorically rule it out. Another well-known LP leader reportedly discussed the idea with Paul in mid-summer and received a more definite 'no'. But in the past month an informal 'kitchen cabinet' of LP activists has been quietly contacting a number of LP leaders, supporters and donors as well as former Paul campaign aides to secure endorsements in the event that Paul decides in favor of an LP presidential candidacy.

The LP presidential nominating convention will be held during the first week in September in Seattle next year and many LP members are anxious to avoid the last minute scramble for a nominee which marked the New York nominating convention in 1983.

The informal "Draft Ron Paul" movement is apparently spearheaded by David Bergland, Burt Blumert and Bill Evers, all of whom have been active in previous LP presidential campaign and nominating efforts. They have contacted at least 40 to 50 LP supporters across the country from various perceived factions within the LP. Also endorsing this effort are former top Paul political operatives Nadia Hayes and Lew Rockwell Jr., whose support has been considered instrumental in providing momentum for the movement.

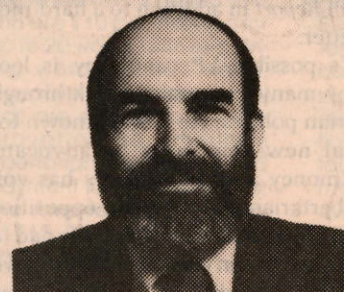
Among those reported to be in favor of a Paul candidacy are former LP presidential ticket holders David Bergland, Jim Lewis, and Ed Clark. Other prominent libertarians publicly supporting the move include Jerry Brennon, Manuel Klausner, Paul Jacob, Leonard Liggio, Joe Cobb, Mark Hinkle, Andre Marrou, Lee Nason, David Walter, David Nolan, Bob Poole, Kathleen,

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RE-ELECT
MARROU
REPRESENTATIVE

Big Doings in Big Water

From page 1

Utah. It's common enough that a polygamist is called a "polyg" by area residents. But it is unusual.

Needless to say, I was intrigued. Just what is going on in Big Water? Is Alex Joseph the leader of a religious cult, clutching to libertarianism the way Jim Jones clutched radical leftist politics in San Francisco? Is Big Water a real estate promotion? Or are recent events the first rounds of the much vaunted Libertarian Revolution?

I already had plans to attend the Eris Society's annual convocation in Aspen. I had a little extra time so I decided to route myself via Big Water to get a first-hand look at the situation.

I packed my computer and copies of both articles, and on Friday, August 1, my wife Kathy and I mounted our motorcycles and headed to Big Water.

Three days and 1,200 hellish miles later, we came to the Big Water city limits on US-89 a few miles north of the Arizona border. We were right in the middle of desert with hardly a sign of civilization. A mile or so later we saw the town, lying to the north of the highway. We turned in at the first road.

The surface of the gravel road was extremely uneven, even by western standards. We drove about a quarter mile into town past several commercial type structures (none appeared to be occupied by any business now) and a tiny closed post office. The town looked simply awful: terrible washboard roads, a few run down houses, but mostly, decrepit mobile homes. Aside from a gas station and large warehouse for boat storage on the highway, the only structure of note was a large building on the west end of town with a satellite dish and a couple water towers by it.

It was 11:00 am. We had postponed breakfast because we thought we'd eat in Big

Water. After four hours on the road, we were hungry, so our first priority was finding a place to eat.

We came to an intersection and the commercial buildings gave way to seedy residential properties. Obviously we were not about to find a restaurant. Kathy said she had seen a restaurant sign further along the highway. We backtracked, cut down another awful gravel road toward the restaurant.

It was out of business. The only business that showed signs of life was the gas station by the highway. I went over and asked whether there was a place to eat in town. The woman attendant said the restaurant was out of business. Normally the gas station sold micro-wave sandwiches, but it was sold out.

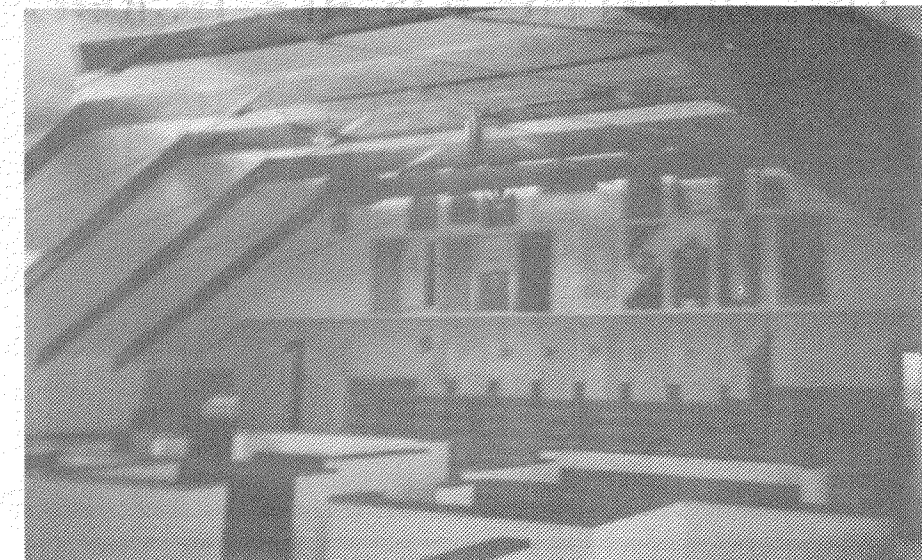
I told her I wanted to see Alex Joseph and asked where I might find him. She said he was up at Long Haul, the building we had seen at the west end of town.

Kathy was hot and tired. She elected to stay in the air-conditioned comfort of the gas station rather than try to negotiate her motorcycle over the awful roads. I proceeded to Long Haul.

Long Haul is actually two buildings with a courtyard in between. The front building is an attractive two-story building of stucco and field rock with a vaulted roof in the center. The rear building was a long narrow wood structure that looked like a motel.

I was not sure where to knock. First I entered the courtyard, but decided I should try the front door. I walked around front but could not find a door, so I returned to the gravel courtyard. I walked to the first door, which was open. I reached in and knocked loudly.

By and by a woman answered my knock. She was an attractive woman of medium height I judged to be about 40 years old. I told her that I was writing a story about Big



Somewhat fuzzy shot (due to low light conditions) of the interior back wall of the Long Haul worship chamber. The boxlike pews are visible as are the

arcane flags on the back wall. Photo by R.W. Bradford.

Water and wanted to see Alexander Joseph.

She invited me in and told me to make myself at home while she checked to see whether he was available. The room appeared to be a sitting room, complete with fireplace and easy chairs. Its walls were decorated with calligraphic posters, including one that charted "Alexander's Creed," the last point of which was "I believe in patriarchal government."

A door at one end opened to a large chamber with a vaulted ceiling. At the other end of the room a doorway opened to an office from which I could hear music. I looked in: the office was equipped with an Apple II computer and some fairly sophisticated typesetting equipment; the music came from a boom box on the floor.

I did not feel I should explore someone else's home, so I sat down. The woman returned in a few minutes and told me that Alex had worked late the night before and would be sleeping until about 2:00 pm. She identified herself as Pat Lassen ("like the volcano") and advised that she was town clerk and would be happy to answer my questions.

We talked for about an hour or so as we toured Long Haul. Ms. Lassen answered my questions readily and with considerable intelligence and charm. It was my impression that she was completely open and honest about everything.

We walked into the large chamber. In the front there was a large chair that looked to me like a throne, with smaller thrones to either side. Above the throne was a circular symbol about four feet in diameter. "Alexander Israel" was written in large, calligraphic letters in a white concentric band around the edge, with an arcane symbol in the middle. (Alexander Israel is the name of the religious movement headed by Alexander Joseph.)

A mystically symbolic sculpture in blue and gold hung from the ceiling. Box-like pews filled the room; a variety of theatrical type lights hung from the ceiling. Some of the pew walls had paintings on them, done in the style that is popular on the sides of vans.

Her first words upon my seeing the chamber were, "This is not a cult, although it may look like one." She was right — it did look the place of worship of a cult. She told me the chamber was used for family and occasionally religious meetings.

I asked how Alex's race for County Commission was going. She replied that it was going well, and that he expects to win this fall's election. (This view was not shared by Elizabeth Joseph, Alex's campaign manager. In a mid-September interview, she advised that Alex had not yet begun his campaign, and did not expect to win the election.) Big Water's political power base, Ms. Lassen advised, comes from its "block

voting." She claimed that Big Water has about 140 voters who vote as a block.

Big Water's block voting has already decided one local election, she said. "We delivered a 70 to 0 block of votes" which decided a county Republican primary, which is tantamount to election in this thinly populated, overwhelmingly Republican county. (Kane County's population is only 2,421, so 70 or 140 votes can have a substantial impact on local elections.)

I continued to ask questions. She said Alex had been involved with Libertarians since early this year. He has lived in the area, practicing his own religion and lifestyle for all his life. He is a "polyg", with 10 wives. One wife is city attorney, zoning administrator and newspaper editor. Another is a "cowboy" and built the city's water supply (from deep wells, the water is excellent, cost is \$12 for 10,000 cubic feet, plus 75¢ per additional 10,000). Another is a calligrapher, and has penned several wall plaques displayed on the walls of Long Haul. Another sells real estate.

The restaurant/bar out by the highway, she told me, was owned by country western singer David Alan Coe. It had been closed by Alex, Ms. Lassen told me, because it was "too rowdy," but Alex was thinking of reopening it as a private club.

According to Elizabeth Joseph (city attorney — zoning administrator — LP chair — newspaper editor wife of Alex Joseph) the building that houses the restaurant is being converted into the headquarters of the Community Action Network. CAN is being established by various private persons in Big Water to take on some traditional municipal activities. For example, Ms. Joseph explained, CAN will apply to have Big Water designated a "Constitutional Bicentennial Community," and thereby qualify for various federal funds. Establishing CAN, Elizabeth Joseph told me, "is a very libertarian move on our part."

(The conclusion of this article will appear in the next issue of *American Libertarian*.) ■

Ron Paul for President?

From page 1

Richman, Murray Rothbard, Sam Steiger, David Theroux, Tom Tryon, Matt Monroe and Randy Ver Hagen. A longer list of endorsers of a possible Paul candidacy is expected to be released in November.

According to leaders of this effort, particularly encouraging has been the response of libertarians across the whole spectrum of LP supporters, including many backers of the unsuccessful Earl Ravenal for President nominating effort in 1983.

Ravenal backers included Ed Crane of the Cato Institute, who withdrew his support from the LP after the nominating convention and has since several times publicly stated that the LP "is dead" politically. However, many Ravenal supporters, including Ravenal himself, have remained active in the party and apparently view a Ron Paul candidacy as a unifying prospect.

According to some reports, the Crane group and other Charles Koch funded activists have been favorable towards both Kansas Senator Bob Dole and former Governor Pierre du Pont IV, though du Pont's recent call for mandatory drug testing for all high school students has apparently caused considerable grief for his would-be libertarian supporters.

While Paul himself has not been heard from at this writing, informed sources state that he is open to the idea of an LP candidacy providing that substantial and broad-based LP support is evident for such a move.

As one sign of support for a possible Paul candidacy, Free Forum Bookstore owner

Jim Peron is reportedly preparing "Ron Paul in 88" buttons to sell at the upcoming Future of Freedom Conference in Los Angeles this November.

Paul practices medicine in Lake Jackson TX, a coastal area community 40 miles south of Houston. After serving four terms from the 22nd District (and turning it into a safe Republican seat from an entrenched Democratic one) Paul ran unsuccessfully for the GOP U.S. Senate nomination in 1984. He was overwhelmed by Phil Gramm, who went on to victory in the November election. Paul also heads up the Foundation for Rational Economics and Education (FREE) and edits the *Ron Paul Freedom Report* in addition to a hard-money newsletter.

Paul's possible LP candidacy is looked upon by many as a major breakthrough in libertarian politics. He is well known to the national news media as an advocate of sound money and increasingly has voiced pure libertarian arguments in opposition to U.S. military intervention abroad and encroachment upon civil liberties by government. He reportedly has an extensive mailing list of past supporters. The prospect of Paul at the top of the LP ticket against probable centrist major party candidates after fratricidal nominating battles already has some LP analysts comparing the 1988 LP opportunity to that of 1980.

AL will continue to report on this development as more information becomes available. ■

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O'Brannon Heads ALP Ticket

Fairbanks, AK - The problem with democracy is that sometimes voters elect the wrong candidate, at least that's what the leaders of the Alaska LP feel after Mary O'Brannon's 203 to 182 victory over officially endorsed LP gubernatorial candidate Ed Hoch, in the recent Alaska Libertarian primary.

While several ALP officials, including Hoch, were told that O'Brannon had withdrawn her candidacy earlier this summer, Alaska Public Offices Commission Executive Director Theda Pittman claims that "no such letter was ever received." This despite the fact that O'Brannon herself in a recent *All-Alaska Weekly* interview admits that she indeed sent in such a letter withdrawing from the race.

But "vox populi" has spoken and a last minute lawsuit filed by the ALP challenging O'Brannon's primary victory fell on deaf ears. The unsuccessful suit documented that ALP leaders had been told she was out of the race and that she had never been a paid member of either the Alaska LP or the national party.

O'Brannon was the early ALP gubernatorial favorite before she mysteriously vanished from the state this spring in the wake of an unsatisfied \$50,000 legal judgement over telephone directory advertising she sold but allegedly did not deliver.

Until her recent emergence at a Fairbanks hotel, ALP officials had tried in vain to locate her in the "lower 48" to clarify her candidacy status. Reports that she was in California and Texas later proved accurate. In a bizarre footnote, O'Brannon claims a mysterious attempted kidnapping in June in San Antonio (still unexplained and under investigation) resulted in serious facial damage and prompted her original (and unacknowledged) letter of withdrawal from the race.

She re-surfaced in Alaska after her narrow victory over Hoch, who was nominated at the spring ALP convention after O'Brannon left the state and questions were raised about her character. However, since the LP in Alaska is treated like the other parties, candidates are selected in the late August primary and not by party convention.

According to ALP Candidate Committee Chair Andre Marrou, O'Brannon's victory was probably the result of most libertarians voting for Republican Dick Randolph rather than either LP candidate in Alaska's open primary, which allows voters to vote for any of the candidates from any party.

Although several ALP leaders pleaded with O'Brannon to withdraw after her election, she has refused, claiming that "the people have spoken." She contends that when it was thought she would be receiving several million dollars from the sale of her directory business, ALP leaders were enthusiastic about her candidacy, but then turned on her after her legal and financial troubles came to light.

Hoch blames his defeat on a lack of serious campaigning on his part, due to confusion over O'Brannon's candidate status until too late in the primary campaign to do any good.

The ALP could have appealed their September lawsuit defeat but lacked funds for the \$170,000 bond required to cover ballot reprinting costs in order to pursue the appeal.

The O'Brannon affair has embarrassed the ALP since they are now stuck with a candidate few party members endorse. The State Executive Committee authorized a write-in effort for Ed Hoch at a recent meeting. However, the whole matter may also jeopardize ALP ballot status in the future, since the party must receive 3% in

the Governor's race to maintain its current major party status. However, even this is ambiguous since another Alaska party, the Independence Party, (which advocates nationhood for the state) was simply put on the ballot his year without petitioning or receiving the required gubernatorial vote percentage.

The 1986 Governor's race in Alaska has not been kind to libertarians. Libertarian-turned-Republican Dick Randolph finished third in the GOP primary after spending nearly \$450,000. And now, the Alaska LP's official candidate is a woman they don't seem to want on the ballot. Electoral politics, libertarians are discovering, can be a tough business. ■

NOTA Wins

Carson City, NV - The libertarian-inspired None of the Above (NOTA) ballot designation swept to victory in the Sept. 2 Nevada Democratic primary race for State Treasurer and came in second in both Democratic and Republican senatorial primaries.

"No preference" votes also finished second in the five-candidate GOP gubernatorial race, second in the Republican Treasurer's race, and second in the Democratic Secretary of State race.

NOTA has never finished first in a general election, but finished a narrow second to Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential primary, which beat out Teddy Kennedy. Nevada is the only state which allows this choice, which was introduced by a populist Democratic legislator in the 1970's.

Unfortunately, in cases where NOTA is the winner, the actual race is won by the second place finisher, and does not, as many libertarians would hope, leave the position vacant. ■

Andre Marrou

From page 1

medical technicians), who in Alaska are mostly volunteers.

AL: So most of your campaign funds are going into TV?

Marrou: About \$12,000 this year. We've just bought our time and I have already booked about 102 spots. We may also add another 30 or 40, depending on money and time availability. I'm also doing more mailings this year.

AL: How much of your money is coming from outside of Alaska?

Marrou: About \$13,000 or so from our first mailing to 8,000 on the national LP list. I'm also doing a 5,000 name *Reason* magazine mailing.

AL: Do you think you are more accepted this year?

Marrou: It seems so. When I was talking to the Mormons I mentioned earlier I never dreamed they would be so approachable about issues like drugs, although it didn't come up until the end of the meeting. I just pointed out how the current system isn't working, and legalization would remove the profit element for drug pushers.

I planted the seed of an idea and they didn't reject it.

AL: So you feel pretty confident?

Marrou: Well, other people tell me I'm a shoe-in, but I'm not believing it. In the recent open primary I got more votes than my incumbent opponent got in the same race in 1984. I did virtually no campaigning this year since I had no Libertarian opponent in the primary and received a plurality of the

votes. I need a plurality to win in November.

AL: What about your campaign staff?

Marrou: I have a number of campaign co-chairs, managers and policy advisors. We really have no one campaigning full time but about 10-15 working part time.

My opponents may not be using TV. They seem to be putting up lots of signs, though.

AL: Any news about Dick Randolph?

Marrou: I haven't heard from him since last spring and he hasn't called or dropped by. He seems to have more or less disappeared.

He did mildly endorse the Republican winner (Arless Sturgulweski) after a two-hour meeting after the election. He may be considering a cabinet post.

But another rumor surfaced that he may switch support to Cowper due to Sturgulweski's hardline stance on the "war on drugs." Cowper, the Democrat, is leading in the early polls.

AL: How about the other LP candidates?

Marrou: Well, you know about the Governor's race situation (ed. note: see related arti-

Israeli Lobby Offers Aid

Sherman Oaks, CA - Libertarian Party California U.S. Senate candidate Breck McKinley's campaign emerged from the shadows of his better known major party rivals when press reports surfaced in late September describing attempts by pro-Israeli lobbyists to aid his campaign, in an apparent effort to bolster Democrat Alan Cranston's re-election bid.

This somewhat bizarre episode in LP politics has parallels in the 1984 U.S. Senate race in Illinois, where pro-Israeli political activists assisted the LP effort of Steven Givot in a successful effort to defeat incumbent Republican Charles Percy.

The McKinley episode, first chronicled in a Sacramento-based political newsletter *Political Pulse* and later picked up by California papers and the wire services, involves a meeting between McKinley and Murray Wood of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee on Sept. 15.

According to press reports and confirmed by McKinley, the pro-Israeli group offered to lend the LP candidate a campaign manager and underwrite a large mailing to Orange County Republican voters in the event GOP challenger Ed Zschau began to rise in the polls and threaten Democratic incumbent Alan Cranston. The motive, according to these accounts, is that Cranston has been a strong supporter of Israel in the Senate whereas Zschau has angered some pro-Israeli activists by voting in favor of U.S. arms deals to Saudi Arabia.

"This affair has gotten my campaign more publicity than anything else," admits McKinley, who has run a relatively low-key campaign, "and I might be willing to consider some sort of trade-off if it had been done openly. But I thought the Orange County mailing idea was just plain silly because I think I might affect the Cranston vote equally as much as Zschau's."

"At first, Murray Wood denied being in the meeting, then he denied being in the room and now denies what was said," McKinley reports. "I haven't heard from any of them since the meeting, needless to say. I pointed out the Libertarian position of non-intervention regarding Israel, but they didn't seem interested. I think they just wanted to help Cranston."

"Zschau's campaign manager told me that I was something of a hero in their camp for publicizing this thing," McKinley said, noting that he did not seek out the meeting

cle in this issue.) We have 8 candidates, 4 statewide, the most ever, and four district races, including mine.

U.S. Senate candidate Chuck House got 3% in the primary and Lt. Governor candidate Betty Breck got 2.5%. Neither did much campaigning or had LP opponents. Other district candidates got between 4-5% with no campaigning.

We're looking forward to a real good showing in the election.

AL: Anything else?

Marrou: Yes, I was asked to author an argument for Ballot Measure #2 for a voter pamphlet going to nearly 200,000 state voters. The measure has been endorsed by 5 different groups.

This measure would give the legislature authority to repeal executive branch actions by resolution rather than by a bill, which currently can be vetoed by the Governor. I point out that a lot of bad laws could be repealed with the change, whereas now even successful repeal efforts can be easily thwarted by the Governor's veto.

AL: Thanks for your time. ■

or solicit any particular type of support. He does point out that he would accept any kind of support so long as he did not have to compromise any of his principles. Questions have been raised in the press and by Zschau supporters about the propriety of foreign government interference in domestic political elections.

Ironically, Zschau has been styled as a "new libertarian" himself, though his campaign has taken a traditional GOP stance and he trails Cranston in most polls.

McKinley, a Sherman Oaks CA based investment analyst, is running in his first LP campaign and declines to predict his ultimate vote total or percentage. "I think I could run a pretty good campaign if I had the time," McKinley concluded, "but I'm just trying to interject some issues into the race and get the message out right now." ■

NatCom Meeting Move

Bethesda, MD - In an unusual move the Libertarian Party National Committee voted by mail ballot in early September to move its scheduled November 22-23 meeting from Honolulu to Los Angeles.

The final vote was 12-10 in favor of the move, with five votes not counted due to irregularities. LP Secretary Dean Ahmad noted that the invalid votes would not have changed the outcome.

The mail ballot was called by six NatCom members, including LP Vice Chair Sharon Ayres, who argued that there was danger of having no quorum if the meeting remained in Hawaii. Other arguments for L.A. included the additional expense involved for a Hawaii meeting and the need to concentrate on solving critical LP problems rather than to "vacation" at the meeting.

The mail ballot is unusual since the NatCom had previously voted for the Honolulu site a their December 1985 and April 1986 meetings, and had an informal poll at the recent Baltimore meeting re-affirming the Hawaii location. NatCom policy is to rotate the meeting site geographically to equalize the travel expense burden and to aid state and local party meetings and conventions during NatCom meetings. The NatCom has never met in Hawaii.

Reports indicate that Hawaii-based NatCom representative Dale Pratt is very upset with the change and that hard feelings have developed over the sudden change in locations. ■

Libertarian Outlook

Let's Free Harry Claiborne

Former Federal Judge Harry Claiborne of Las Vegas may or may not be a wonderful human being. He may or may not actually be guilty of failing to include several hundred thousand dollars in legal fees on his early 1980's income tax returns. Perhaps, as he contended at his recent Senate impeachment trial, his accountants made mistakes and he was just careless in not seeing them.

But whatever the facts, citizen Claiborne shouldn't be taking up valuable space in federal prison for underpayment of his income tax. Debtors prisons have all but gone out of fashion, it seems, except for that most hard-nosed of creditors, Uncle "Your money and your life" Sam.

Interestingly enough, Claiborne claimed at his recent trial that he was the object of a federal vendetta, since as a former high profile defense attorney in Las Vegas, he didn't automatically side with the government as many of his colleagues are prone to do. He depicted himself as a civil libertarian who did not always grant the wiretap warrants requested of him by federal agents.

Even the U.S. Senate, which did not allow him to fully present his case alleging a government conspiracy to hound him from the bench, was concerned enough about the unusual zeal with which his prosecution was conducted to open an investigation of its own into why the feds pursue some cases with relentless determination and let others totally languish.

So while the Senate has booted Claiborne off the federal payroll, it has failed to justify his current incarceration or the selective

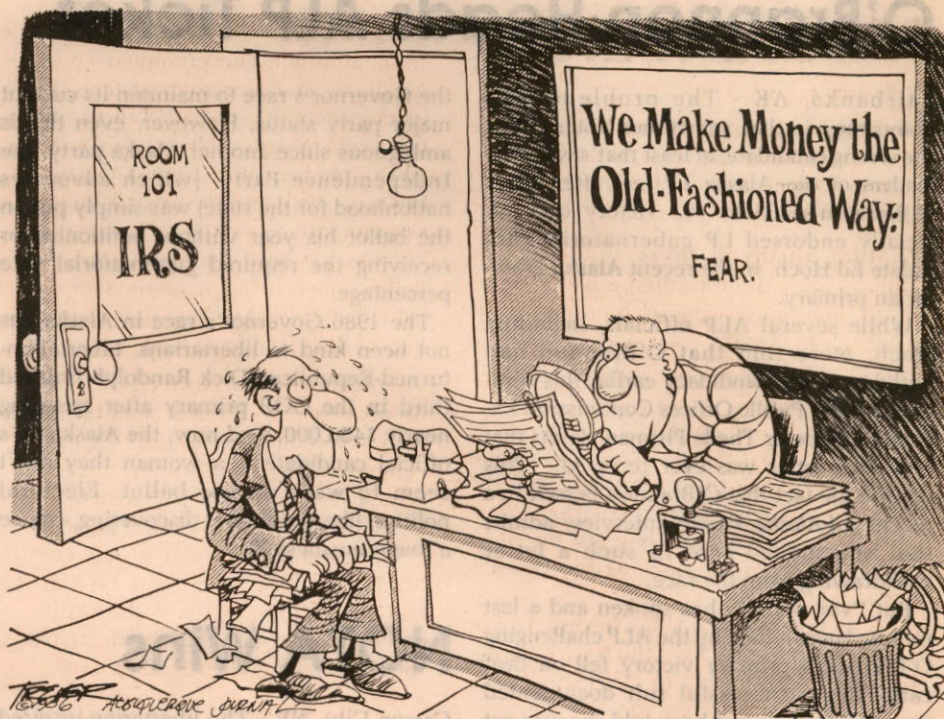
prosecutorial efforts aimed at removing him from the bench. Reducing the government work force is laudable, but jailing people for income tax matters is another thing altogether.

Just by coincidence, the U.S. Sentencing Commission has issued tentative guidelines calling for much longer prison terms for tax cheating, in some cases double or triple the current lengths. We should all note where the true government "War on Crime" is actually heading.

Dozens of high ranking government officials of the Reagan administration have resigned or been forced out of office for far more questionable activities. Literally hundreds of government contractors, including many politically powerful ones, are routinely caught cheating but scarcely notice a disruption in their cash flow as a consequence. And federal judges are not saints either. In addition to outright corruption, many routinely trample on the legitimate rights and liberties of citizens under one pretext or another. These are real crimes involving real victims.

Let Harry Claiborne out to pursue honest work. And let the court system use the prison space to lock up dangerous criminals. And it wouldn't hurt to take a closer look at a number of federal agencies, like the IRS, for practicing "official oppression", a real but rarely prosecuted crime. Who knows, Nancy Reagan might just find a whole new subject with which to start a crusade.

"Just say 'No' to the IRS. . ."



of Nixon.

(2) Woody Jenkins. On domestic issues, Jenkins comes close to being a pure libertarian. However, although winning election to the Louisiana State Legislature on personal popularity, he has twice failed badly in attempts to win the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate. Considering the record of Democratic Governor Edwin Edwards, one can scarcely say that Jenkins' work within the Democratic Party has moved that group's Louisiana chapter closer to the libertarian ideal.

(3) Ron Paul himself. While his 1984 race for the GOP nod for a U.S. Senate seat was scarcely hard-core, the fact that Phil Gramm would be a likely winner in November caused Texas Republicans to stampede to Gramm's side. Ron Paul drew 17% of the vote in that primary.

(4) The Randolph attempt to be nominated as a Republican for Alaska governor this year. The GOP leadership, indeed, may have seduced Randolph into this race as a means of removing the LP's most potent vote-getter. If so, they got what they wanted, and I suspect the Alaska Republican Party is no more libertarian now than it was then.

However, it is precisely this pragmatic impulse on the part of the subsidized parties leadership that makes the third-party route sensible. If we start routinely garnering even 5-10% of the vote in significant races, they will start prostituting themselves in our direction as they did in the Socialists' direction fifty and sixty years ago to regain the votes they had been losing to the various Socialist parties. Indeed, this may be, ironically enough, why Alaska Republicans in 1982 nominated a gubernatorial candidate who was more pro-free enterprise than the pre-primary favorite!

Jeff Daiell

Houston, TX

P.S. Messrs. Garris, Hunter, and Raimondo ask (Sept. AL), "now that we've all seen the results of the Bergland campaign, is it really so obvious that Ravenal would have been worse?" Well, yes, actually. A Ravenal candidacy would have driven away a lot of dedicated activists who wanted an unmistakably libertarian campaign (thus reducing the number of states in which we had ballot status and considerably weakening the future of the Party). It would have thoroughly muddled our image in voters' minds and, since you cannot beat something with nothing, would probably have garnered fewer votes than Bergland did. That would have been too high a price to pay just so the Koch brothers could regain control of the LP.

Media Watch



Pentagon Seizes Journalist's Files

Washington, D.C. - Pentagon investigators raided the office of defense reporter and consultant Clarence Robinson in July, and hauled off three

boxes of documents, some stamped "secret".

While conceding that the raid may have been a "mistake" since it was not approved by proper authorities, the government has refused to return the files, citing concern over handling of classified materials related to the "Star Wars" defense initiative. Robin-

Continued page 5

Feedback



Letters Policy

Letters are accepted provided they carry the author's name and address.

A phone number should be included for verification purposes only. Letters should be kept short and

are subject to editing. Send to: Feedback, American Libertarian, 21715 Park Brook Drive, Katy, TX 77450.

Liberate Man

I note that in #3 (September AL) you claim that Greece is the only country in Western Europe still holding on to its monopoly on radio and TV. This is untrue. You shouldn't put that much faith in the statistics of the rest of Europe. Actually most European countries (with the exception of Italy) have state monopolies in these respects. In many places they have been diluted by the governments giving limited franchise to one of several independent stations, or (as in Sweden) by allowing non-commercial, licensed local radio stations to operate. But there is nowhere any free entry. Nor is in most cases commercial radio or TV allowed apart from a fixed number of token stations (Sweden allows no non-state television; Finland allows one commercial TV station; Norway has a state one-channel monopoly on TV and so on).

Otherwise, my compliments on your paper. Sweden has a long way to go before anything like it is even remotely feasible. Libertarians here still number in the dozens rather than in the hundreds or thousands. But we have come a long way since I was, to

my knowledge, the only libertarian around some fifteen years ago. There is now a hard-core group in Stockholm involved in various outreach projects, as well as people in most other parts of the country keeping at least to some extent in touch with those of us here. And the LI convention did get around 40 Swedish participants, which would probably have been unthinkable only a few years ago.

So keep up your good work, and we'll try to do more over here. So far, some 50 press cuttings from the convention coverage along with a fair amount of interest in my own book *Befria Manniskan* (Liberate Man) from last year, and a continuously growing (although still very small) subscriber list for Henrik Bejke's quarterly libertarian review do at least hint at the possibilities for some radicalism even in the free world's least free country.

John-Henri Holmberg
Stockholm, Sweden

Mr. Holmberg's extensive report on the August Libertarian International Convention held in Stockholm will be featured in our next issue. Ed.

Third Party Route Sensible

Infiltrate a larger party, convert its devotees, and bring about a free society thus? Not as long as the two older parties are more concerned with winning elections than with ideology.

Four cases of ideologues (not necessarily libertarians) losing to pragmatic considerations come to mind:

(1) The 1972 Florida primary. The Florida Republican Party was one of the most hard-core conservative parties in the union. But they spurned John Ashbrook (9%) in favor

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Media Watch

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son also has a defense consulting contract with the government.

Information on the raid was not revealed until September.

Nothing Mushy in Texas

Dallas, TX - After regaining ballot status after their hard won petitioning effort, Texas Libertarian party members are wasting no time in their efforts to attack Lone Star statism.

A statewide UPI wire story on an early September LPT press conference in Austin saw Party Vice Chair **Alex Snead** attack the League of Women Voters' decision to exclude LP candidates. "They are muzzling another voice, monopolizing the ballot," Snead noted.

LP Governor candidate **Theresa Doyle** noted that "While I don't think we have the backing of the people to eliminate public education, ultimately we hope to see private ownership of schools and roads." In an earlier *Dallas Morning News* article Doyle called the projected \$3.5 billion state budget shortfall a "godsend" because it offers "a golden opportunity to reduce the size of state government."

In another August *Dallas Morning News*, the short editorial entitled "There's nothing mushy in Libertarian's stance" noted LPT Lt. Governor candidate **Bill Howell's** libertarian credo (which has been floating around in LP circles for some time) "Concerning government, we call for the abolition of almost everything. We call for drastic reductions in everything else. And we object to being forced to pay for what's left." The editorialist noted the sentiment "had a certain ring to it."

Competitor Alert

Raleigh, NC - The ranks of libertarian tabloid publishing have once again been swelled by the emergence in August of the *Deregulator*, edited by **Rick Henderson**.

The eight page, monthly, mailed first class tabloid (where have we seen that format before?) is computer set, features Trever cartoons, reprints from various libertarian publications, and a two page "View of the News" section.

A sample issue can be obtained from: *Deregulator*, P.O. Box 17343, Raleigh, NC 27619.

AZ LP Ballot Fallout

Phoenix, AZ - The Arizona LP's surprising failure to attain ballot status was widely reported and noted in that state's news media. *Phoenix Gazette* columnist **John Kilbe's** report, titled "Libertarian mess may make Arizona a two-party state" decried what he saw as internal squabbling and resentment towards then ALP Chair **Ken Sturzenacker's** reported bid for the gubernatorial nomination in a challenge to "insider" LP favorite Jim Walters. Kolke's defense of Sturzenacker called him a "soft-spoken, common-sensical" leader who "offered a visage of stability the party needs to avoid becoming a jocular footnote."

The *Arizona Republic* editorialized on the ALP's failure and also blamed the ballot failure on "infighting" and opposition by "party regulars" to Sturzenacker's gubernatorial bid. The AP story on Sturzenacker's forced resignation was also widely run in state papers.

Would They Mention It If He Was A Republican?

Newark, NJ - Former New Jersey Libertarian Party gubernatorial candidate **Bobby Jack Moyers** was indicted in early July by a Federal Grand Jury in Newark on 16 counts of attempting to defraud various insurance companies out of hundreds of thousands in

allegedly false insurance claims for hospitalization. This prompted a number of headlines and stories in state papers, including some which read "Libertarian Held in Fraud." Nearly all the accounts mentioned that he had run for governor on the LP ticket in 1981 and for several local offices subsequently.

Press accounts suggest that Moyers believes he is being persecuted for his political beliefs and that the charges amount to harassment.

Vermont LP Gets Noticed

Montpelier, VT - The Vermont LP, the most active New England based LP group in recent years, received a lengthy and favorable writeup from the state AP wire in a recent series on that state's political parties.

The widely carried story featured headline "The Libertarians on the Rise" and noted the party's enthusiastic, high quality candidates and the effectiveness of their outreach tabloid *Free Vermont*.

Foldvary Bares All

Berkeley, CA - Berkeley libertarian activist **Fred Foldvary** got a chance to "put his money where his mouth is" (in a symbolic sense at least) during a recent "nude-in" at an East Bay nudist encampment.

Foldvary and two other naturists staged an admitted media event to gain attention to the idea of a proposed "clothes optional" beach. Foldvary is a veteran libertarian writer and spokesman in the area. According to reports, there was a 30-knot wind and teeth-chattering cold during the event, which was well covered by local papers and television stations.

Franchise Literature

Costa Mesa, CA - **David Bergland's** Orpheus Publications is privatizing the production of LP literature.

Noting that most LP literature is out-of-date or out-of-print, Orpheus has prepared an 8½" x 11" tri-fold brochure "What is the Libertarian Party?" Other libertarian pamphlets are also available.

These are available in quantities from 25 upwards at a cost of 20¢ to 10¢ depending on volume. Contact: Orpheus Publications, 1773 Bahama Place, Costa Mesa, CA 92626.

A-albionic Research Network for Conspiracy Digest

Ferndale, MI - The A-albionic Research Network assumed the assets of Alpine Enterprises and their defunct *Conspiracy Digest*. A-albionic (no, we don't know what the name means either) publishes a 10 times per year newsletter presenting the "evolving world-view of the Research Director, **Lloyd Miller**."

A-albionic is concerned with ruling class/conspiracy theories, and their network consists of nearly 5,000 conservative and libertarian contacts.

Conspiracy buffs and aficionados of the exotic can contact: A-albionic Research, P.O. Box 20273, Ferndale, MI 48220. ■

Keeping Up with the Joneses?

And the Clarks, the Tryons, the Pauls,

the Rothbards, the Berglands, The Cranes,

the Randolphs, the Jacobs, the Givots, the Dodges

the Nolans, the Konkins, the Hesses, the Marrous, the Lewises...?

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In Review



by Ron Paul

Ron Paul is a Lake Jackson physician and edit's the *Freedom Report* as well as a hard money newsletter. He is a former four-

term U.S. Congressman from the 22nd District in Texas.

The Triumph of Politics; Why the Reagan Revolution Failed, by David A. Stockman, Harper & Row, New York, \$21.95, 422 pgs hdbk.

When David Stockman documented the failures of the Reagan Revolution in *The Triumph of Politics*, he was castigated by liberals, conservatives and the media. This shouldn't surprise us: Conservatives wouldn't endorse the book because Stockman dared to say the President failed at something, not because of the evil Tip O'Neill, the only tolerable scenario, but because the Republican "conservatives" themselves prevented the revolution.

Further, conservatives could not stomach Stockman's brilliant critique of the Pentagon, their spending habits and the protected weapons manufacturers making up the "military industrial complex." This is just another example of conservatives failing to apply their sound analysis of the failures of the welfare state to the warfare machine, though it would be completely appropriate to do so.

Liberals, who might have initially seen Stockman's book as a good vehicle with which they could safely criticize Reagan, quickly realized that from their perspective it was a good thing the Reagan Revolution was a failure. They didn't like the idea in the first place, and after all, liberals can't cite a book complaining of the lack of libertarian

radicalism when dealing with the welfare state, social security, international trade and agricultural policy. These are areas in which they much prefer a statist agenda, and they have what they wanted in spite of Reagan's initial plans.

Thus few kind words were spoken about the *Triumph of Politics*. Neither party, liberals, conservatives, left or right, found much in the book which would advance their own cause. So they all condemned Stockman and his book in unison: Conservatives calling him a traitor, and liberals calling him insensitive to the poor and disadvantaged just like they always had. Both motivations were political.

Similarly, in the reviews and commentaries of Stockman's book, politics triumphed over careful analysis. To keep Republican and Democratic myths alive, they had to direct their criticisms against Stockman personally rather than face the reality of Reagan's record.

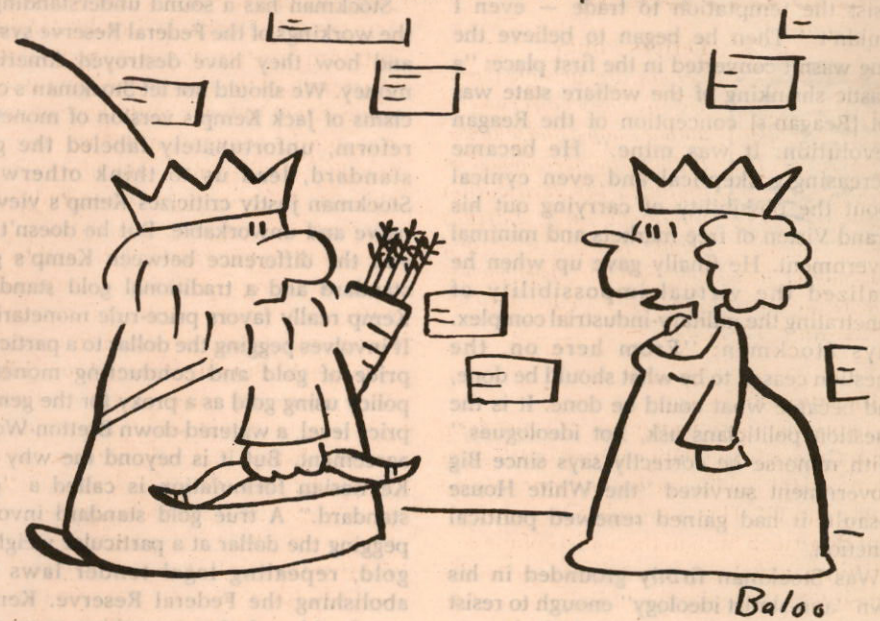
Libertarians, though, should be in a better position to appreciate Stockman's thesis because they have no particular fondness for one main party's ideology over the other's. Both are fundamentally statist, and libertarians should have no interest in protecting one statist party-oriented ideology over another.

My first impression being the media's treatment, the reviews and those ridiculous series of *Newsweek* excerpts, I found upon reading the book itself it contained many pleasant surprises. (Reading the book puts me in a much better position than many of Stockman's reviewers who never did in the rush to put out copy. This I know from personal conversations.)

Stockman's book is about huge budgets, big spenders, irresponsibility, wacko economic theories, politics, compromise, sell-outs, and liars. In short it's about government. There is no "social

Continued page 6

"Another attack on the press?"



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In Review

From page 5

consciousness" or "concern for the human condition" on the part of bureaucrats and politicians in Washington. There is only the desire for personal aggrandizement, power enhancement and getting reelected. It is a world where ideology and philosophy take a back seat to politics.

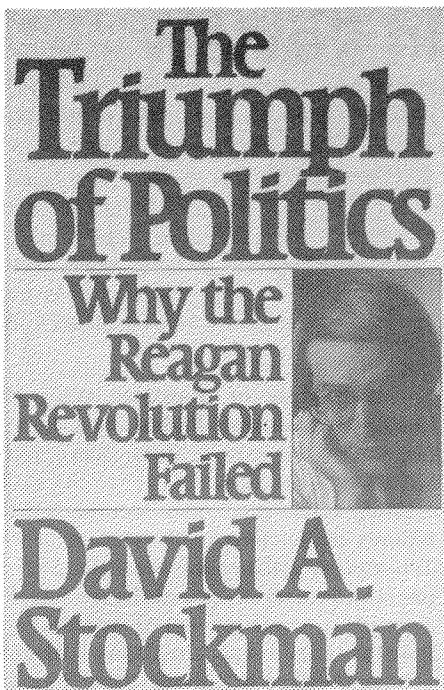
To the libertarian, all of this should be obvious and even expected, but it took Stockman by surprise. He thought because Reagan had a vision and he was our country's leader, he could make great progress toward turning this country around. The king is converted, he thought, so the battle will be won. Unfortunately, history shows that kings are rarely truly converted, and when they are, it is tough to get them to stick to principle. The lesson is it will take more than just converting the king to start a revolution.

Stockman spends a chapter telling of his ideological development. He was Marxist, then an interventionist and finally a sort-of libertarian until he "emerged a disciple of F.A. Hayek, the preeminent Austrian exponent of free market economics." He became furious with previous "conservative" administrations because they had "imposed wage and price controls and abolished the gold standard. It was perverse. Everything the free market scholars said would happen. . . did happen right before my eyes." Because of all this, he says, he became "a born-again capitalist."

There is something about government that induces people to want to suspend principle while in it. Stockman's own experience in government is testimony to this truth. He held out longer than most, doing fine while in Congress, receiving relatively high scores from the National Taxpayers Union. He resisted vote trading as well. But once in the administration, he was soon lying and selling-out with the best of them. In Stockman's words, "no one can resist the temptation to trade — even I couldn't." Then he began to believe the king wasn't converted in the first place: "a drastic shrinking of the welfare state was not [Reagan's] conception of the Reagan Revolution. It was mine." He became increasingly skeptical and even cynical about the possibility of carrying out his Grand Vision of free markets and minimal government. He finally gave up when he realized the virtual impossibility of penetrating the military-industrial complex. Says Stockman: "From here on, the question ceased to be what should be done, and became what could be done. It is the question politicians ask, not ideologists." With remorse he correctly says since Big Government survived "the White House assault, it had gained renewed political sanction."

Was Stockman firmly grounded in his own "anti-statist ideology" enough to resist the temptation to compromise? Maybe not. He insists, for example, in one long section on taxes, on using that horrendous, made-in-Washington term "tax subsidy" referring to a situation where an individual is "allowed" to keep part of his own property. It is only a subsidy if you believe our property is owned first by the government and given back to us only when the public sector temporarily doesn't have use for it. Because libertarian philosophy revolves around the concept of individual, not state, ownership and sovereignty, it is difficult to think of a worse deviation from libertarian philosophy than the "tax subsidy."

This same philosophical deviation spills over in his last chapter on policy prescriptions. The dilemma he deals with is by now well-known. The government is



sitting on a debt of over \$2 trillion, and the deficit for fiscal year 1986, even though the government isn't saying so, will exceed \$220 billion. And while we like to believe that is exclusively the government's problem, the American people, not just the government, are going to one day pay the price for this profligate spending. To avoid the calamity, Stockman argues, revenues need to be raised through higher taxes. And he builds a persuasive argument. Persuasive, that is, if one has little respect for the property rights of individuals. Taxes themselves are a calamity. And while I agree with Stockman that we "are headed for another bout of inflationary excess" in the near future that will erode the value of our property, we can protect ourselves from this type of theft by turning our paper money into hard assets. It is getting harder and harder, especially with the forthcoming tax reform, to protect ourselves from higher taxes. With Stockman's solution, we have no escape.

Stockman has a sound understanding of the workings of the Federal Reserve system and how they have destroyed America's money. We should not let Stockman's criticisms of Jack Kemp's version of monetary reform, unfortunately labeled the gold standard, lead us to think otherwise. Stockman justly criticizes Kemp's view as naive and unworkable. But he doesn't tell you the difference between Kemp's gold standard and a traditional gold standard. Kemp really favors price-rule monetarism. It involves pegging the dollar to a particular price of gold and conducting monetary policy using gold as a proxy for the general price level, a watered-down Bretton-Woods agreement. But it is beyond me why this Keynesian formulation is called a "gold standard." A true gold standard involves pegging the dollar at a particular weight of gold, repealing legal tender laws and abolishing the Federal Reserve. Kemp's supply-side solution is nothing more than an excuse for more inflation. (Not surprisingly, interventionist schools of thought, including monetarism, Keynesianism, and supply-side economics, have overlapping aspects.)

Stockman's criticisms are therefore valid as they pertain to Kemp's proposals, but they are not criticisms against the gold standard precisely because Kemp does not want one. (Incidentally, Stockman has expressed support for a true gold standard in private to me.)

Some other gems Stockman provides us: "The Reagan White House's anti-spending rhetoric could not be taken seriously. The Reaganites were, in the final analysis, just plain welfare state politicians like everybody else." And: "my anti-statist

position was utterly repudiated by the combined forces of the politicians — Republican and Democrat, those in the executive branch as well as the legislative." And: "repudiating the debt through inflation will soon be revealed as the inevitable consequence of the course we are now set on, [and] there remains a slim hope that we will turn back before it is too late."

Don't expect to find in the final draft specific indictments of Ronald Reagan. Throughout, Stockman paints him as sincere, but misled. Never is Reagan found actively pushing for bigger expenditures and more interventions. For this you must go to earlier drafts published in the *Washington Post* about a month after the book came out. Why was this left out of the final version? I suspect there are some interests even Stockman can't buck. To say Reagan actively opposes balanced budgets and individual liberties ranks, no doubt, among the ultimate taboos.

A note of caution: Stockman came to the wrong conclusions and perhaps learned the wrong lessons from his experience with the administration. He is pessimistic and defeatist. He erroneously concludes that since his Grand Vision fell by the wayside, the people must want government to be every bit as big as it is. Politicians are only meeting consumer demand. Thus to a large degree he excuses the growth of the Leviathan state. I have heard many politicians say similar things to me in private, but they all forget the Leviathan lives, breathes and grows only at the expense of the market economy and personal liberty. Government growth takes

Ed Zschau: What's the Big Deal?

by Jorge Amador

Jorge Amador is a freelance writer and editor of *The Pragmatist*.

Is Ed Zschau a libertarian, or isn't he? Does the California Congressman "vote libertarian" on issues often enough that libertarians may feel comfortable supporting him?

Some seem already convinced that he does ("LROC Stirs Interest, Controversy" Oct. AL). I preferred to withhold judgment until I examined Zschau's voting record. I studied the votes reported by *Congressional Quarterly* over a three-week period in July and August, 1986. This was the most recent, up-to-date account of Zschau's performance available when the study was undertaken, and it encompassed 118 votes, which I considered sufficient to form a picture of anyone's voting patterns.

The votes were divided into four categories: Economics/Taxation/Budget, Civil Liberties, Defense, and Foreign Policy. In the last three categories, which had relatively small samples, content analysis allows us to assess Zschau's tendencies. (See accompanying table.)

For comparison purposes, a model "libertarian" position was devised for each vote. While I don't expect everyone who calls himself a libertarian to agree with my stance on every vote, my positions should correlate highly with those people who may reasonably be described as "libertarian". I followed three rules of thumb to come up with the libertarian position:

1) When offered the choice, a libertarian always votes for less government spending and less taxation. If there's an amendment to cut \$50 million from the budget for mentally handicapped IRS agents, the liber-

its effects on us through increased coercion and decreased liberty. The larger the State grows, the more severe the exploitation becomes, and thus it can never be justified. Theft and exploitation are still immoral, even when done through the democratic process.

As long as there continues to be a mystical faith and awe surrounding government, there is little chance of reducing the role the State plays in our lives. The first step is to demystify the government and reduce the faith people have in it to be a problem-solver. Stockman's book goes a long way in exploding the utopian delusions of social planners of all sorts. One realizes after reading the inside track on Washington events that this motley crew would be the last ones that could successfully plan an economy — a very healthy attitude. Even Stockman's harshest critics never challenged the truth in his account of his years in the administration or the accuracy of his facts.

For libertarians, there is much to learn from Stockman's book, much we should be cautious with, and some we should completely reject. But with both its good and bad aspects, the *Triumph of Politics* is an extremely important book. He pulls back the veil of mystique, reminding us once again of the blunderous, destructive nature of government.

Stockman reminds us of how far we have to go to achieve a free and prosperous commonwealth. But his account also reminds us why our country so desperately needs change and why we should stay active. ■

tarian will vote for it.

2) A libertarian always votes against any proposal to spend money or tax anybody. Thus, a libertarian would vote **for** cutting funding for IRS imbeciles from \$500 million to \$450 million, but **against** the resulting \$450 million proposal — never to let bureaucrats spend money.

3) Proposals to shift money from one agency's budget to another's are of little concern. Who cares if our money is going to feed moronic IRS agents or to buy hammers for the Pentagon? It's already out of our pockets. However, a Congressman's votes can give insight into his attitudes. If he votes to shift funds from House Office Building elevator operations to narcotics persecution, we may surmise he is not a civil libertarian on drugs.

Overall

Of 118 votes in the period studied, Zschau missed 17. Of the remaining 101 votes, 14 lacked substantive issue significance.

The global numbers are not encouraging. Anybody who agrees with a libertarian less than half the time can hardly be called a "libertarian", however charitably one might interpret the votes.

Economics, Etc.

Here we find the greatest correlation between the libertarian model and Zschau's record, where he voted "unlibertarian" more than two of every five times. Many of the votes in agreement involved relatively minor, nitpicking cuts in funding. Zschau did vote against raising the federal debt ceiling to \$2.152 trillion, and he supported Ronald Reagan's veto of the textile import quotas (HR 1562).

Every time a departmental budget came up for consideration, Zschau supported it. He voted \$90.9 billion for the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education departments; \$45.25 billion for Agriculture; \$12.31 billion for Justice, State, and Commerce; \$10.28 billion for Transportation; \$8.19 billion for Interior; and \$13.65 billion for the Treasury and U.S. Postal Service

Continued page 7

Ed Zschau

From page 6

budgets.

Civil Liberties

Three of these votes were motions by Bob Walker (R-PA) and friends to shift funds from other areas to the "war on drugs." Zschau voted for all three.

One of them was to shift money from enforcement of the 55 miles-per-hour speed limit to the Coast Guard's antidrug program. Zschau also voted to allow testing a 65 MPH limit on rural roads as proposed by Bill McCurdy (D-OK), and to delete \$20 million from the National Highway Safety Administration's budget for "double-nickel" enforcement.

Defense

Zschau voted to reduce the Defense Department's budget authority from \$292 billion to \$285 billion, which was some \$35 billion less than Reagan wanted. However, a reduction to \$255 billion proposed by Ron Dellums (D-CA) was too much for him.

Zschau's "moderate" approach is illustrated by a series of votes on the Strategic Defense Initiative. He opposed increasing SDI money from \$3.4 billion to \$4.8 billion, and favored a reduction from \$3.4 billion to \$3.25 billion. But he voted against another proposal to slash SDI funds from \$3.4 billion to \$1 billion, and even against another to pare funding to \$2.85 billion.

He opposed a proposal by Pat Schroeder (D-CO) to withdraw half of the U.S. ground troops from Europe, and one third of ground troops elsewhere abroad, over five years

and to demobilize half of the troops coming home.

Foreign Policy

Four votes concerned aid to the Philippines. Zschau voted to trim the aid package by \$50 million to \$200 million, but voted against deleting the entire amount from the bill. He supported the final package including the \$200 million figure, plus \$107 million for Haiti and \$65.4 million for "international narcotics control."

The Californian also supported a resolution asking the President to urge South Africa to recognize the African National Congress as "a legitimate representative of the black majority." Although it was not part of the study, Zschau later voted for the sanctions bill imposing prohibitions on business with South Africa, which muddles his record on free trade.

Conclusion

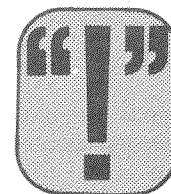
Ed Zschau is far from being a libertarian, ideal or otherwise. How he could win praise from libertarians is unclear and disturbing. More important than Zschau himself is the willingness of some libertarians to desert the LP for Republican politics and to rally around someone like him. Who will it be next time?

Not that we should denounce Zschau and write off whatever semi-libertarians there are active in Republican organizations. At the same time we point out their divergences from libertarianism, we may encourage them to move in our direction by exploiting what pro-freedom proclivities they already have. But there is no need to vote for them, let alone join them. ■

Zschau Vote Pattern vs. "Model Libertarian" Votes July-August 1986 (3 week period) Source: Congressional Quarterly and Jorge Amador

Category	Votes Agreeing with Libertarian Position		Votes Disagreeing with Libertarian Position		Total Votes	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
All votes	42	48.3	45	51.7	87	100.0
Economics/Taxation Budget	31	56.4	24	43.6	55	100.0
Civil Liberties	2	33.3	4	66.7	6	100.0
Defense	7	35.0	13	65.0	20	100.0
Foreign Policy	2	33.3	4	66.7	6	100.0

Notable Quotes



Damn Fools

"The State Department goes to great lengths to compensate for a sugar policy it doesn't support.

It lobbied in Congress for a clause in the 1985 farm bill that allows Washington to buy commodities such as rice, soybeans and wheat from domestic producers to grant to Caribbean countries so as to make amends for the damages of the (government) sugar policy. By flooding Caribbean markets and driving commodity prices down, the U.S. is making it more difficult for local farmers to replace sugar with those other crops. 'It gets to be comical,'

says Richard Holwill, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Caribbean. 'It makes us look like damn fools when we go down there and preach free enterprise.'

"Cross Purposes: U.S. Sugar Quotas Impede U.S. Policies", *The Wall Street Journal* Sept. 9, 1986

Not Qualified

"He has never held political office before, but (Haitian presidential candidate) Bernard Sansaricq does not believe that should disqualify him. 'Everybody who has held office in Haiti before is only qualified for one thing: stealing,' he said."

"Haitians Jockeying for Election to Presidency", Mike Yuen, *Houston Post*, Sept. 25

Free Market Forum in Texas

Houston/Dallas, TX - In early September John K. Williams, an Australian currently serving as scholar-in-residence at the Foundation for Economic Education (FEE), was the first of several speakers at a series of talks in Texas on a variety of current economic issues, including the oil and gas industry, Third World development, the environment, and trade unions. Williams talked about "The Forgotten Dream: The Classical Liberal View of Democracy, Liberty & Private Property".

Williams, in a round table discussion at the University Club in Houston, explained that the question for the Founding Fathers was not whether or not to set up a democracy, but who should exercise the coercive power of the state and exactly what power should be given to the state. Democracy, Williams said, would not define an answer. "Plato asked, 'What kind of state will maximize what good people will do assuming good people will govern.' But the Classical Liberals asked 'What is the worst that people will do if the worst people govern?'"

Williams went on to explain that property rights are a form of human rights and that most clashes are solved when tied to property rights. "There was sustained economic growth in the Netherlands and in England after the 16th century because of a new system of property rights."

He also used the current example of Tanzania, a once thriving country, where President Julius Nyerere brought in a form of Christian Socialism in order to redistribute wealth and 15 years later Tanzania was dependent on foreign aid.

Called the "Dallas/Houston Free Market Forum: In the Austrian Tradition," the talks and table discussions will be led by such FEE notables as John Baden, once director of FEE, William Hutt, author of several books on the free market, Robert Bradley, Jr., author of *Oil, Gas, and*

Government: The U.S. Experience and many others. The Forum will be held on the first Tuesday (Dallas, at St. Mark's School for Boys) and first Wednesday (Houston, at the University Club) of each month up thru May 1987 (excluding February). For more information call (214) 363-7990 Dallas, or (713) 623-6062 Houston. Admission free. ■

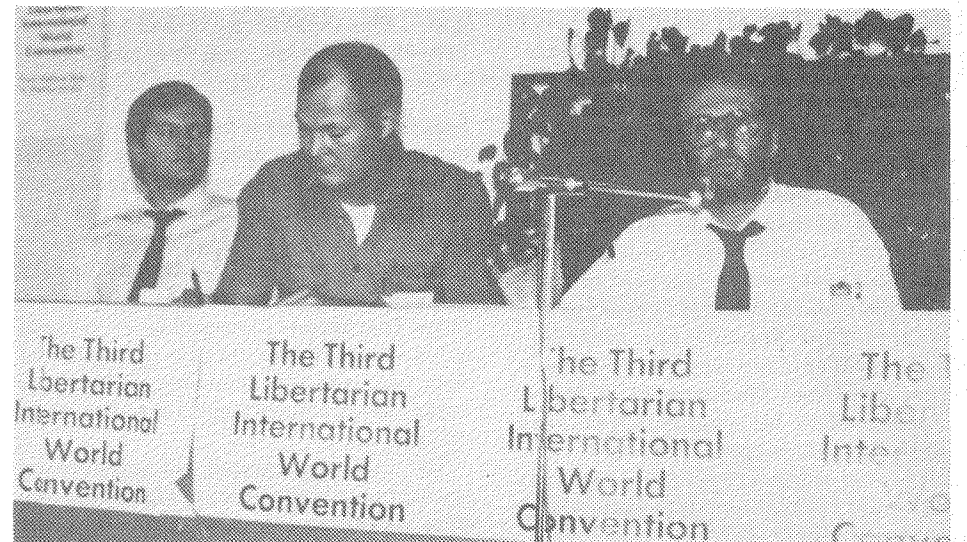
Lib. Anti-Draft Group Formed

Washington, DC - Friends of Paul Jacob will not be surprised to learn that he has co-founded an anti-draft organization since his release from prison. After serving 6 months for refusing to register for the draft, Jacob joined with former LP Natcom member Alan Lindsay to launch Volunteers For America.

VFA Chair Alan Lindsay says a few very dedicated libertarians provided the seed money to get the organization started. VFA is now broadening its base of support and is calling on libertarians across the U.S. to participate in this project.

VFA will publish a news update under the title *Final Draft*. Other projects in the works include expanding the VFA speakers bureau and improving media relations. VFA also plans to install a Draft News Hotline before year end. This hotline will feature a recorded message, updated every week with the latest news on the draft issue.

Libertarians who want to participate in VFA should call 1-800-433-1973. Mention that you are a libertarian and that you want to volunteer. As in any such organization, contributions are welcomed. Send correspondence to: **Volunteers For America, 101 'G' St. SW, #214-A, P.O. Box 75285, Washington, DC 20013.** ■



The panel on "defending the undefendable" at the August Libertarian International Convention in Stockholm. L-R: LP Chair Jim Turney, convention co-chair John-Henri Holmberg, Walter Block, Joan Kennedy Taylor (not pictured). See the complete convention report in next month's *American Libertarian*. Photo by Henrik Bejke.

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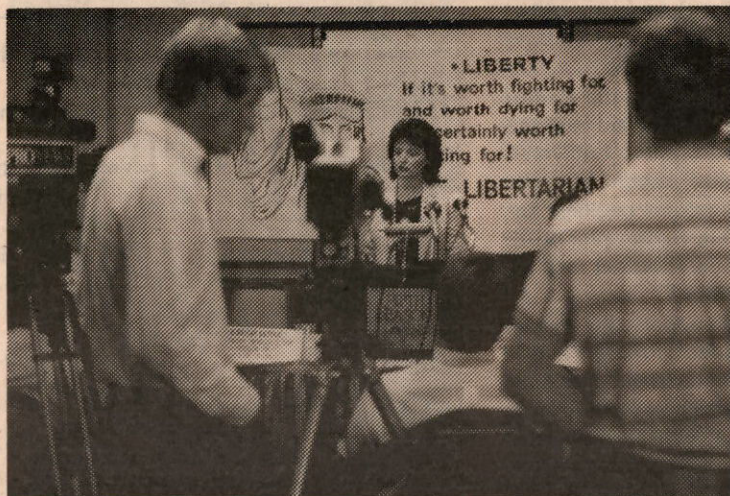
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Left: Texas LP gubernatorial candidate Theresa Doyle poses in a Rambo-like getup in front of the Alamo. She staged a press conference in response to the Governor's claim that he had to "bite the bullet" to raise taxes. Doyle vowed to "draw the line" against higher taxes. (Photo by Peter Elloway) **Middle:** Gubernatorial candidate Doyle addresses a crowded Amarillo, TX news conference. (Photo by Greg Clark) **Right:** Doyle, Comptroller candidate George Meeks, and Lt. Governor candidate Bill Howell (far right) at an October Houston press conference. Meeks is running in a two-way race for Comptroller and is an avowed tax protester. These LP candidates have crisscrossed the state hitting most of the major Texas cities. Press coverage for the Libertarian candidates has been surprisingly good.

Political Notes



Columbia, SC - The South Carolina LP zapped some state politicians once again with its annual wacky "awards" to various officeholders.

Among the honors handed out were the Daniel A. Chamberlain Last Corrupt Government Award to current Governor Dick Riley, for having more officials in his administration convicted in federal courts than during the entire previous century, which includes the crooked Reconstruction era. And State School Superintendent Charlie Williams received the J.K. Jillson Award for Cruel Mistreatment of School Students, citing his support for building windowless classrooms and running 90 days behind in answering mail. Jillson was a 19th century school superintendent publicly embarrassed for lying.

The awards received a great deal of publicity around the state, including a favorable editorial in the *Augusta Chronicle* headed "Lib's Score a Hit".

Flagstaff, AZ - Former GOP Congressman Sam Steiger enlivened a mid-summer Coconino County LP meeting with an after dinner speech which was widely reported around the state.

Among his comments was the thought that though the state LP had its problems, "it wasn't dead" and that "Libertarians don't want, or intend to, 'shoot Santa Claus'."

He noted that the public has misperceptions about Libertarians saying "some members of the public think about half the members of the Libertarian Party have AIDS" and that the LP must work to change this image. But he concluded by noting that he has never regretted becoming a Libertarian because "the longer I stayed in government, the more skeptical I became."

Columbus, OH - The Ohio LP opted for the old name recognition tactic when Brown and Smith both filed recently as write-in candidates for Governor and Lt. Governor, respectively. Katie Smith of Wadsworth filed for the Lt. Governor slot while Applica-

tions Research Corp. chief scientist Thomas Brown of Oakwood filed for the top spot.

Houston, TX - While the LP membership has been slipping of late (see "Problems, Problems, Problems, Oct. AL), and reportedly has dipped under the 5,000 mark recently, LP Acting Director Terry Von Mitchell reports that a mid-October in-house membership drive has yielded impressive results.

In just three days a contract telephone solicitor was able to re-sign over 135 lapsed LP members in premium membership categories. This should bring in over \$4,700 and help alleviate recent cash flow problems.

Seattle, WA - After a fairly quiet period, a campus libertarian group has recently been formed on the University of Washington campus, according to interim advisor Will Hafer.

Organized by Greg Cancelada, a UW economics major, the purpose of the Libertarian Discussion Group will be to "provide a University forum for the discussion of libertarian views on economic, political and social issues," according to a recent press release.

The LDG inaugurated fall activities by sponsoring a booth at the mid-October Student Activities Fair where, among other literature, they distributed copies of the *American Libertarian*.

Fresno, CA - For once the procedural gremlins have worked in favor of the Libertarians, when proponents of a .5% county sales tax increase missed the August 15 deadline to include their arguments in favor of the hike for inclusion on the ballot.

Remarkably, the Libertarian Party opponents of the measure met the deadline, so their argument will be the only one included on the November ballot.

The Fresno Chamber of Commerce, which spent \$30,000 for a survey to push the increase, admitted they just flat missed the deadline because they were under the assumption that County Supervisors would notify them of the deadline.

Santa Ana, CA - The good Lord may not be whispering campaign advice into their ears, as he reportedly does for certain GOP presidential aspirants, but according to a "Candidates' Biblical Scoreboard" co-sponsored by the *Christian Voice* and Costa Mesa religious publisher David Balsiger, Libertarian Party candidates outscore the major party candidates in the California U.S. Senate race and best the Democrats in two other Orange County races.

Under the scoreboard results, the LP

Senate candidate bested both Democrat Cranston (who got a zero) and Republican Zschau (45%) with a 67% rating for Breck McKinley. The American Independent candidate got 100%, however.

In the 38th and the 43rd Congressional Districts, the LP candidates outpointed the Democrats in both races, though trailed behind the GOP candidates.

Reportedly, over a million copies of a 40-page national biblical rating publication will be distributed, including 100,000 in California, based upon survey results of supposedly "pro-biblical" political positions.

Despite the results, most observers agree it will take a more direct form of Divine Intervention to bring victory to any of these LP candidates in the November elections.

Indianapolis, IN - LP Senatorial candidate Bradford Warren has written his district IRS office challenging the tax-exempt status of the Citizens Education Fund (the debate-sponsoring arm of the League of Women Voters) as a result of his exclusion from League sponsored Indiana Senatorial debates held in September.

The League of Women Voters, long known to be bi-partisan rather than non-

partisan as they claim, has also excluded Libertarian Party candidates from debates this year in South Carolina and Texas. Texas Libertarians have announced plans to protest their exclusion from statewide televised gubernatorial debates by the League.

Curiously enough, government FCC "fairness" guidelines only require two candidates be presented in TV debates. Apparently two is the magic number constituting government mandated "fairness".

Coming Attractions

Koch Vs. Mises

The 3rd Libertarian International Convention: A First Hand Account from Stockholm

Part II of Big Doings in Big Water

Is the LP in Trouble? Final part of the three part series

Reviews: Bieser on "The New Cartoon Art", Sablatura on "Reporters and Government", Amador on "An Evening With Leonard Peikoff", Grindle on "The Politics of the ACLU"

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